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A MEASUREMENT OF RACIAL ATTITUDES TOWARD MINORITY GROUPS IN TEN BOSTON SOCIAL AGENCIES

Submitted by

Herman James Tyrance

(B.S.Ed., Virginia State College, 1938)

In partial fulfillment of requirements for

the degree of Master of Education

1947

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the problem

The purpose of this study is to measure the racial attitudes of girls and boys toward the minority groups in ten Boston social agencies.

Although some data and studies on racial attitudes have been made on boys and girls at school levels, little has been done in the social agency field in the nature of measuring those attitudes known to exist. Since racial antagonisms and jealousies are problems of this Democracy we so dearly love and attitudes are the direct causes of these baneful social ills, it is highly probable that a more workable basis for better living together will result if all the social and civic agencies will concentrate their efforts toward this end.

The groundwork of proper social decorum having been laid in the home and school, outside agencies are charged with the tasks of either perpetuating, moderating, or reversing altogether the attitudes and opinions of these institutions. Too few studies have been made to determine what progress, if any, they have posted or are making in keeping faith with these exponents of Democracy. Unfortunately, as Leslie W. Irwin avers "only about 15-20 percent of youth are ac-

tually reached by these outside agencies".[1] If however they are doing a creditable job with those few in the home, school, and church--those organizations having the earliest contact with the children--have done their job in educating them for democracy, then the cause is not entirely lost.

Need of the study

The need of this study is evident in view of the great need for more cooperation, understanding, and trust; the perpetuation of our democracy; more suitable materials, methods and procedures for the elimination of prejudices; and new standards for adult - child recognition of group differences. A few of the shortcomings in studies of attitude concern the following:

Are the organizational high offices the exclusive ownership of the so-called majority groups or even the right of any of the minorities? Is there any tangible proof that makes either or any incapable of maintaining these positions?

On what reliable bases can white, yellow, or black men judge others unless they use themselves as the measuring stick? It should be remembered that race can not be judged by its superiority at any given moment.

Is there any justification for judging a group merely on the basis of personal dislike of one or two individuals

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[1] Leslie W. Irwin, The Curriculum in Health and Physical Education, St. Louis: C. V. Mosby, 1944.

of a minority?

Is it fair to continue job stereotypes for certain minorities in the light of unverified and current opinions?

Some light has been shed on this problem of attitudes by the works and studies of eminent anthropologists, psychologists, and students in race relations. Ashley-Montagu asserts:

> "Once science has proved conclusively to all that there is nothing in the brain or blood of some races which justifies the treatment toward others, it becomes important that all of this knowledge should be accessible to everybody." 2/

Otto Klineberg sounded the warning when he declared that:

> "If attitudes are to be changed in the face of the forces tending to perpetuate them, the only hope is to reach them early and to give to children habits of favorable reactions to other races which will stay with them throughout life." 3/

Definitions of terms used

Race as classified by the anthropologist would embrace those physical characteristics which tend to identify a group. However, de Huszar says, "Race is a product of history and it results from interaction of human nature with situations of group difference and group relationship." 4/

2/ M. F. Ashley-Montagu, Man's Most Dangerous Myth: The Fallacy of Race, New York: Columbia University Press, 1941. p. 95.

3/ Otto Klineberg, Race Differences, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1935. p. 348.

4/ de Huszar, Anatomy of Racial Tolerance, New York: H. Wilson Co., 1946. p. 11.

The most comprehensive definition is attributed by the Anthropological Association.

> "Race involves the inheritance of similar physical variations by large groups of mankind, but its psychological and cultural connotations, if they exist, have not been ascertained by science." 5/

> "Attitude denotes the sum total of man's inclinations and feelings, prejudice or bias, preconceived notions, ideas, fears, threats, and convictions about any specific topic" is the definition attributed to Thurstone and Chave." 6/

Donald Young says that:

> "Attitudes show a tendency to respond to a social or physical stimulus in some particular manner because of either biological inheritance, cultural conditioning, or both." 7/

Muzafer Sherif believes that:

> "Attitudes whatever else they may be imply characteristic modes of readiness in reacting to definite objects, situations, and persons." 8/

5/ Resolution adopted by the American Anthropological Association's 37th Annual Conference, December 20, 1938, in New York City. p. 33.

6/ L. Thurstone and E. Chave, The Measurement of Attitude, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1937. p.

7/ D. Young, American Minority Peoples, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1932. p. 11.

8/ M. Sherif, "An Experimental Approach to the Study of Attitudes," Sociometry, July, 1937. p. 91

Emory S. Bogardus [9] is of the opinion that racial attitude is an established or acquired tendency to act in a social situation involving persons of a race different from one's own. The members of each race posses attitudes, friendly and antipathetic, toward the members of all of the other races of whom they have ever heard.

By social agency in this study is meant the local institutions settlement houses, neighborhood houses, and community centers, and such national organizations as Y.M.C.A.'s, Y.M.H.A.'s, Y.W.C.A.'s, and Boys' Clubs.

Settlement house is of English origin having been applied to London's Toynbee Hall [10] in the 1880's when its leaders "settled" in the working class district. The neighborhood house is more characteristically American, free from any implication of class distinction. It connotes a center which does not stress the sociological philosophy of the earlier settlements. However, in some cases the names are used interchangeably. South End House in Boston was one of the first established settlement houses in this country.

The objectives of the settlement house program provide that all the sex, racial, cultural, and religious groups in

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[9] E. S. Bogardus, Immigration and Race Attitudes, New York: D. G. Heath Co., 1928. p. 14.

[10] Russell Kurtz, Editor: Social Work Yearbook, New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1947. p. 463.

the local area shall be represented among the participants.[11]

Jewish federations and social service organizations have become members of councils of social agencies to participate with other non-Jewish agencies in community planning.

The philosophy of the Boys' club[12] is to provide boys in low economic areas with the opportunity for wholesome use of leisure time, the building of healthy bodies, the development of recreational and vocational skills, and leadership and guidance which produce men better fitted for the responsibility of citizenship. Membership is open to boys without restriction in nationality, religion, social, or economic conditions.

The Young Men's Christian Association describes itself in its essential genesis "A world-wide fellowship of men and boys, united by a common loyalty to Jesus Christ, for the purpose of developing Christian personality and building a Christian society."[13]

The Young Women's Christian Association[14] affords opportunities for girls to work and play with girls and women of varied backgrounds and to grow and develop in their personal and social adjustment to the modern world.

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[11] General Report of the Cleveland Settlement Study, July, 1946. p. 16.

[12] Social Work Yearbook, op. cit. p. 67.

[13] Ibid, p. 69.

[14] Ibid. p. 69.

All social agencies as specialists in the field of human relations are interested in raising standards for the entire community, extension of economic and political rights to the underprivileged groups, and a federally-supported and supervised system of public assistance. 15/

The position of competition among these and other agencies should not exist but in its place should be utmost cooperation. As L. W. Irwin mentions it:

> "When both public and private agencies exist within the same community, those in authority should survey the needs of that community and strive toward getting each agency to contribute the part it is most capable of doing to the best advantage." 16/

Minority group here refers to four groups, namely: Chinese, Japanese, Jews, and Negroes. For very obvious reasons the Chinese, Japanese, and Negroes are pegged immediately as minority groups insofar as they have very specific characteristics which categorize them as a 'race' and here in America such identification at once relegates individuals or groups as minority. Although the Jews are not a race and they have no nation they do constitute, in every country and in almost every city, a minority.

15/ Esther Brown, Social Work As a Profession, New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1942. p. 5.

16/ Leslie W. Irwin, op cit. p. 361

Paul Radin corroborates this statement by saying:

> "The Jews form a group by themselves. Their ancient insistence upon regarding themselves as a pure race, with the specific mentality and even a particular mission to perform; has been very properly relegated to the realm of religion." 17/

Organization of remainder of the thesis

Associated literature on racial attitudes and previous studies are reviewed. The selection of the test, the description of the agencies and their communities, the population, a selection of the groups to be tested and the methods involved in giving the test are presented. The tabulated results of the attitudes of boys and girls of the various agencies include those of foreign and native-born parents in relationships of minority versus minority, and the so-called majority versus each minority on basis of each statement and in terms of mixed-group related situations.

17/ Paul Radin, The Racial Myth, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1934. p. 130

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Much has been written of racial attitudes with the praiseworthy purpose of better intergroup understanding, respect, and good will.[18/] Most of the studies have been made on the school level especially the collegiate, but a precious few have ventured into the social agency field. A presentation of the history and present status of the problem by means of a brief critical review of previous investigations of this and intimately related problems is presented. The relation and contribution of each of these to the question as a whole should be made clear together with the fact that the investigation now in progress arises from the inadequacies of studies in the past in the social agency area.

Literature on racial attitudes

Human beings tend to behave in ways involving movement from being ignored or looked down upon toward being looked up-to, recognized, approved, admired, and having a true sense of belonging. Since this seems to be the law of society, the adolescents have built their patterns in conformity and an individual or group who deviates draws the scorn of opinion upon himself. Of the various methods of arriving at a measurement of racial attitudes there seems to be some harmony of

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[18/] John J. Mahoney, For Us the Living, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1945. p. 271.

opinion although H. C. Perry[19] thinks that the solution of the problem lies in the life history, personal interview, and case method. Read Bain advocates as the best sources "indirect evidences of overt behavior through observation and statistical treatment in social situations."[20] L. L. Thurstone[21] attempted to describe a new psychophysical method of measuring psychophysical attitudes or the functional similarity of attitudes.

P. M. Symonds[22] mentioned that the seven ways in which the term attitude is used are great organic drives, muscular set, generalized conduct, neural set or readiness to adjust, emotional concomitant of action, feeling concomitant of action, and accepting or rejecting verbal responses. The first preferential rating of races was reported in 1925 when thirty-nine racial and national groups were placed in three categories on the basis of feelings of friendliness, neutrality, and aversion. The findings[23] showed greatest antipathy toward

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[19] H. C. Perry, "The Questionnaire Method," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, 1925. 155ff.

[20] Read Bain, "An Attitude on Attitude Research," An Abstract, *American Journal of Sociology*, May, 1928. p. 94.

[21] L. L. Thurstone and Chave, *op. cit.* pp. 93-95.

[22] P. M. Symonds, "A Social Attitude Questionnaire," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 1925. p. 217.

[23] E. Bogardus, "Measuring Social Distances," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, May-June, 1925. p. 307.

the Negroes. The best feelings were towards the Jews and Chinese with the Japanese not much above the Negroes. These are merely in terms of the whole thirty-nine. R. F. Frederick [24] found in his investigations that high school students have the same racial preferences as their elders.

In a study made by a New York school teacher, reported by Bruno Lasker, [25] it was found that there seemed to be a tolerance for the Negro expressed by the Jewish children tested that probably resulted from their own differences in social adjustments.

Donald Young [26] found that the course of Race Problems as taught in college was successful in providing information but not so in changing attitudes toward the various racial groups.

Thurstone made the first genuine measurement in the field. His "Experimental Study of Nationality Preferences" [27] was a method of paired comparisons constructed on a scale of

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[24] R. Frederick, "An Investigation Into Attitudes," School and Society, April 2, 1927. p. 410.

[25] Bruno Lasker, Race Attitudes in Children, New York: Henry Hobt & Co., 1929. p. 106.

[26] Donald Young, "Some Affects of a Course in American Race Problems on the Race Prejudice of 450 Undergraduates at the University of Penn. Jl." Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1927-28, pp. 236-242.

[27] L. L. Thurstone, "An Experimental Study of Nationality Preferences," Journal of General Psychology, 1928. pp. 405-425.

judgment of college students which gave an accurate rank order for twenty-one ethnic groups and told the interval of distance between any two groups. The least preferred in order of intensity of dislike were Jews, Chinese, Japanese and Negroes.

H. A. Sturges[28] proposed methods of determining validity, reliability, diagnostic, and prognostic values of attitude tests.

J. H. Kershner[29] maintained that prejudice arises where group division lines conjoin with racial ones.

The most useful research in prejudice and social attitudes generally on a rather objective basis was made by G. B. Watson[30] with his test of fair-mindedness.

The most comprehensive measurement of racial preference is the investigation of Guilford[31] in which scale values were computed on basis of judgment of eleven hundred college students in various scattered colleges and universities. The Chinese rated below the Negro, who was preceded by the Japanese and the Jew.

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[28] H. A. Sturges, "The Theory of Correlation Applied In Studies in Changing Attitudes," Am., Journal of Sociology, 1927. 33:269-275.

[29] J. H. Kershner, "Race Prejudice as a Form of Group Prejudice," Journal of Applied Sociology, 1927. pp. 446-52.

[30] G. B. Watson, "Fair-Mindedness", Industrial Psychology, 1927. pp. 84-92.

[31] J. P. Guilford, "Racial Preference of a Thousand American University Students," J., Social Psychology, 1931. pp. 179-204.

Droba made a study on racial attitudes after a class in 'Race Problems' had been taught for one semester and found that although there was some improvement in racial attitudes "The results were too inclusive to warrant being significant."[32]

It was found later that almost the same results that Thurstone discovered and more reliable ones in some cases than his could be found from simple ratings.[33] Other scale studies were done by Guttman[34] who did not aim primarily at scale measurement alone but rather on observed percentages and whole numbers.

R. Zeligs[35] demonstrated through testing that visits of Chinese girls and motion pictures depicting Chinese life improved children's attitudes toward this racial group.

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[32] D. Droba, "Education and Negro Attitudes," Sociology and Social Research, 1932, pp. 137-141.

[33] R. Likert, "A Technique for Measurement of Attitudes," Archives of Psychology, No. 140, pp. 53-55

[34] L. Guttman, "A Basis for Scaling Quantitative Data," American Sociological Review, April, 1944. 139 ff.

[35] R. Zeligs, "Influencing Children's Attitudes Toward Chinese," Sociology and Social Research, 1941, pp. 126-128.

H. Meltzer Maintained:

> "The children with the largest number of intense dislike reactions have a deep sense of insecurity in their home. Tolerant children seemed to be a more informed group about social concepts they reacted to than other children." 36/

Katz and Allport concluded that "Representative American Colleges and Universities are decidedly opposed to the intermingling of the Negro and white races in a strictly social way."37/

Results of attitude tests have shown that children exhibit feelings of superiority of their own group or race and those similar to them in color, language, and culture and the feelings of the inferiority of races that are different.38/

Ralph Minard39/ demonstrated that race attitude is a matter of personal preference in feeling and that it tends to fall away from the standard established by competent opinion in the average individual during the adolescent period.

36/ H. Meltzer, "Hostility and Tolerance in Children's Nationality and Race Attitudes," Am., J., Orthopsychiatry, 1941, pp. 662-67.

37/ D. Katz and F. Allport, Student Attitudes, New York: Craftsman Press, 1931.

38/ R. Zeligs, "Racial Attitudes Through Adolescence," Sociology and Social Research, September-October, 1938, p. 53.

39/ Ralph D. Minard, Race Attitudes of Iowa Children, University of Iowa Studies, University City, Vol. IV, 1931. pp. 63-

The present concept of attitudes

"There is evidence that attitudes are modifiable and consequently susceptible to training" stated Thomas Briggs.[40] Thus it should be the job of the home, church, school, social agencies, and others to work constantly in cooperation; to initiate proper social attitudes; cull out acquired undesirable ones; and create a wholesome air of love of fellowman that the members of any institution can remove or at least loosen immeasurably any deeply-rooted prejudices. Out of the demand for deeper understanding of all men and a less prejudicial handling of group problems have grown interracial, intercultural, inter-group, All-American, and many other democratic organizations. One of the foremost of present attempts to understand attitudes is exemplified by the Research Center for Group Dynamics at Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Dr. Marion Radke, a very capable woman, is director of the famous department which was headed by the late Kurt Lewin. Emphasis is placed on "laboratory and field experiments for studying systematically the forces which determine group life and changes in group life."[41]

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[40] Thomas Briggs, and others, "The Emotionalized Attitudes," Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1940. p. 69.

[41] Kurt Lewin, "Research Center for Group Dynamics at M.I.R.," Sociometry, February, 1945, p. 135.

CHAPTER III

THE EXPERIMENT

This is an attempt to measure attitudes of boys and girls toward minority groups from results compiled from a questionnaire given to twelve members of selected agencies within the age group of sixteen to twenty-one inclusive. The questionnaire included twenty-two items requiring approval or disapproval answers, three statements necessitating ratings of one, two, three, and four on the basis of equality with own group, and one check question of job classification on the ability of each minority.

Selection of the test

In other tests, scales of choice gave ample room for judgment based on gradations between extremes of opinion. However, the belief was that there should be as little freedom of selection as possible because freedom of choice limits the objectivity of a test. Provision is made for unsuited situations and consequently the questionnaire posed only the two extremes - approval (A) and disapproval (d) - with no opportunity for middle-ground opinion. The following information was held essential: age, occupation, nationality, and education of the individual and that of his parents. Further insight into the frequency of contact with members of minority groups was felt necessary since as Ashley-Montagu asserts:

> "There can be no doubt of the fact that most children become early conditioned emotionally to a belief in the existence of race differences." 42/

Many factors influence the behavior of the adolescent and this questionnaire has been made in terms of as many of these as seemed worthwhile and pertinent to include. A few of the outstanding influences that have a bearing on youth are the color of the individual, clubs, the home and family, the church, the gang, relationship between the sexes, and the community and its organizations and opinions in regard to the relations of the races.

Skin color is only one of several classifications applied to the races. The Negro is black; the Mongolians, yellow-brown; but when attempting to classify the Jew, the identification fails. Results of tests have shown that prejudices increase when the color factor enters.

There are no segregated schools for minority groups in Boston although there are racial and religious schools where adolescents may and often do go to practice and retain the culture and customs of the parents' homeland. This mixture of personality and pupils of all races, classes, religious affiliations, and creeds presents undoubtedly the most ideal situations for contact with one's chronological equals.

42/ M. F. Ashley-Montagu, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

> "It is the school, however, that must assume the larger share of responsibility for the mass production of world-minded individuals. It is in the elementary school that the firm foundation of world citizenship is laid." 43/

The greatest influence in the life of the child is still the home for all its decline since the turn of the century. Family relationships can be narrowing as well as broadening in the treatment of outside association of the adolescent by the members of the home; and competing agencies can do little toward moderating their attitudes unless they can get at the bottom of the sources of the adolescent's opinions.

The policy of tolerance of all groups towards the end of inter-group cooperation and good will can aid materially in the development of worthwhile racial attitudes. Any exclusions, ideology of practice, or malicious thought can make indelible accepted prejudices or weaken immeasurably favorable impressions. The question 'What racial attitudes influence the membership of the church itself?' begs the question when public ties are more stringent than needful in exercising the far-reaching principle of human brotherhood upon which it was originally founded. 44/

43/ Franklin McNutt, "World Citizenship, Today's Problem, Tomorrow's Reality," Childhood Education, September, 1943. p. 11.

44/ Bruno Lasker, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

The most intimate social group of an individual's own choosing is his group or gang and their acceptance or rejection of opinion is reflected in his attitude toward persons, places, and things. Hartshorne and May[45] in their studies found that children more nearly resemble their friends in honesty than anyone else except their parents. This fact suggests that either young people choose to associate with others who hold the same behavior standard as their own or through continuous association they become alike.

When a society as a whole typifies the community which lends its sanction to the attachment of prejudicial feeling toward any group, each individual feels free to exercise that accepted power.

Such outside social agencies as settlement houses, Y.M.C.A.'s, boys' clubs, youth centers, boy and girl scouts, and others all aim at the brotherhood of man, however little they may do in the actual administration of social justice. Varied sources of recreative activities serve as vital media for good fellowship and development of proper attitudes.

Industry has had its claws of exclusive practices clipped by the introduction of the state F.E.P.C. which maintains that there shall be no discrimination because of color, creed, or national origin. The recognition and acceptance of segre-

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[45] Hartshorne and May, Studies in Deceit, New York: MacMillan, 1928. p. 430.

gation has done much to perpetuate prejudice and produce job stereotypes. All newcomers to the field of industry are faced with the option of confirming, rearranging, or discarding former attitudes of minority differences. One result of study of New York's FEPC law was that Jews, Japanese, foreign born and Negroes face the same patterns of racial discrimination.[46/]

Description of the agencies selected

The fairest method of attacking the problem from the point of selecting agencies for as complete a picture of racial attitudes was to choose some that had no minority group within its buildings and none or relatively samll numbers of them within the community itself; some that had a mixed or cosmopolitan group; and others that had a predominantly or exclusive minority group. With that as a criteria for selection, the following agencies were chosen: a Y.M.C.A., a Y.W.C.A., a boys club, settlement houses with non-minority, a predominant minority group, and a mixed membership, and a Chinese and Jewish agency. It was impossible to include a Japanese agency because there was not any in the city of Boston.

These places to be tested were grouped as mixed,

[46/] Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work, New York: Columbia University Press, 1943. p. 281.

non-minority, and predominantly minority agencies and they follow: Mixed:

Norfolk House, located at 14 Eliot Square, has 460 boys and 552 girls of whom forty and thirty-two respectively lie within the desired age group. The community that it serves-Mission and Dudley-comprises one-fifth foreign born white, less than one twenty-fifth Negro and others, and the remainder, native born whites.

Roxbury Neighborhood House, situated at 858 Albany Street, has enrolled 460 boys and 530 girls. Of this number ninety-two boys and forty-four girls are in the required age group. The neighborhood, East Dudley, is composed of seventy-four per cent native born white, twenty-one per cent foreign born white, and about five per cent of Negro and other racial admixtures.

South End Boys' Club is at 7500 Washington Street in the South End and has only thirty-six boys between the wanted ages in its gross membership of 909 boys. Although this agency doubtedly draws from outside the environs its immediate neighborhood includes fifty-eight per cent native white, twenty-eight per cent foreign born white, and twelve per cent Negro and other racial extraction.

Young Men's Christian Association (Y.M.C.A.), the main Boston agency, includes 2940 boys of whom 777 lie in the sixteen to twenty-one classification. This agency

draws boys from all over the city at its 315 Huntington Avenue address so no racial admixture is possible.

Young Women's Christian Association (Y.W.C.A.), located at 140 Clarendon Street, Back Bay, caters to 3580 women of that number 900 fall in the requested age group. Like the Y.M.C.A. its population is amassed from girls throughout the entire city and its environs.

Non-Minority

Dorchester Neighborhood House, at 1353 Dorchester Avenue, embraces a neighborhood made up of seventy-nine per cent native white, twenty percent foreign born white, and less than one per cent Negro and other non-whites. It is classed as cosmopolitan however making possible for extension of membership to any non-whites. Of 491 boys and 319 girls only nine and eleven respectively fall within the category.

North End Union, a predominantly Italian agency, is located at 20-32 Parmenter Street in the North End and has seventy-five boys and fifty-five girls between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one in its overall membership of 324 boys and 479 girls. Sixty-five per cent of the neighborhood is composed of native born whites; thirty-four per cent foreign born; and a mere fraction, non-whites.

Minority Group Agencies

Robert Gould Shaw House is situated on 11 Windsor Street and has forty-two boys and sixteen girls in the sixteen -

twenty-one age group among its total enrollment of 343 boys and 182 girls. Its neighborhood is predominantly of foreign and native Negro stock.

Young Men's Christian Association (Y.M.C.A.) of the Chinese branch attracts 270 males to its 7 Tyler Street address. Just eighteen are in the desired age group.

Young Men's Hebrew Association (Y.M.H.A.), at 108 Seaver Street serves a predominantly Jewish neighborhood of whom 816 are boys and 410 are girls. Sixty-five girls and 191 boys make up the sixteen to twenty-one age group.

Description of the population

Social agencies are usually located in the areas of cities made up of families with low incomes. They cater to the neighborhood in which they are situated and in some cases where communities are contiguous to more than one agency, there is some duplication of membership and service.

The figures in most cases are estimated, made thus by the shuffling of transient population and the return of service men. The enrollments in some agencies include adults but have not been specified.

The 1940 census [47/] gives Boston's minority population as 911 native born and 472 foreign born Chinese, twenty-one

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[47/] Seventh Census of the U. S., 1940 Population Vol. II, Characteristics of the population. Report of the States. pp. 671-673.

foreign and forty-one native born Japanese, and 21,010 native and 2,669 foreign born Negroes. The Jewish numbers could not be taken since they were included with the whites. The division of boys and girls into the age group sixteen-twenty-one years reads 30,766 whites of whom 27,699 are native born and 1,068 foreign born, 1,375 are Negroes and 105, others. The children have few chances to intermingle with Japanese and Chinese but ample opportunity with the Jews and Negroes depending of course upon the section of city area wherein lie their institutions and interests.

Selection of the groups to be tested

The age group was chosen as sixteen years through twenty-one because that bracket covers secondary school, vocational, and college year levels. This period of adolescence provides youth ample social opportunity to meet all groups and to enable him to determine for himself the truth or frailties of racial issue and attitudes. The adolescent is presumably mature enough to discern the artificiality of his acquired racial attitudes apart from the indoctrinations of home, school, church, social institutions, and other influences of early childhood.

The giving of the questionnaire to clubs within the agencies was not done because it was felt that the attitude of each member was consistent with that of the club. Rather an indiscriminant group as possible was desired by the inves-

tigator. In agencies where there were both boys and girls at least half of those tested were females. At least one member of a minority was included in the tested groups of mixed agencies wherever possible. Testees were encouraged to respond to all questions but to feel free to add any comment where situations did not apply or were not in keeping with their beliefs.

The test originally constructed consisted of over one hundred items and experimentally administered in two Boston agencies not later tested, and one in Attleboro, Massachusetts. The intent was to eliminate irrelevant, equivocal, and misleading material.

Administration of the test

The reading of the introduction and directions of the questionnaire were preceded by an explanation of the purpose of the test, cautions to be observed, the need of response to every question, and other suggestions which served to vallidate it. All effort was directed toward setting the testee at ease and thus giving him a cooperative interest in the task and a vital insight as to what his judgments of the minorities should be based upon. It is recognized that while questionnaires are not infallible they can and do serve as valuable instruments of measure.

The questionnaire was given to individual members when it was found that giving it to two or more boys or girls harmed the supervision and proper administration. Individual attention and interruptions robbed others of concentration. In minority agencies and non-minority agencies it was felt advisable to have a staff member with whom they familiar to give the test, since those responses the investigator desired would tend to be given and would not be a true indication of their own opinions. There was no time limit although the average time rarely exceeded twelve minutes.

CHAPTER IV

THE TABULATED RESULTS OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

The results of the total number of boys and girls tested in each agency are given, followed by tables showing the results item by item of the whole group, then the restrictive, personal, membership, and leadership relationships of boys and girls of native and foreign born parentage. The ratings of a minority group in terms of respect, equality, and readiness for better understanding with own group by members of mixed non-minority group, and minority agencies completes the tabulations.

Agency	Boys tested	Girls tested	Totals
Dorchester Neighborhood House	6	4	10
Norfolk House	6	5	11
North End Union	6	6	12
Robert Gould Shaw House	6	6	12
Roxbury Neighborhood House	6	6	12
South End Boys Club	11		11
Y. M. C. A.	12		12
Y. M. C. A. (Chinese)	12		12
Y. M. H. A.	6	5	11
Y. W. C. A.		10	10
	71	42	113

TABLE I

ITEM BY ITEM ANALYSIS

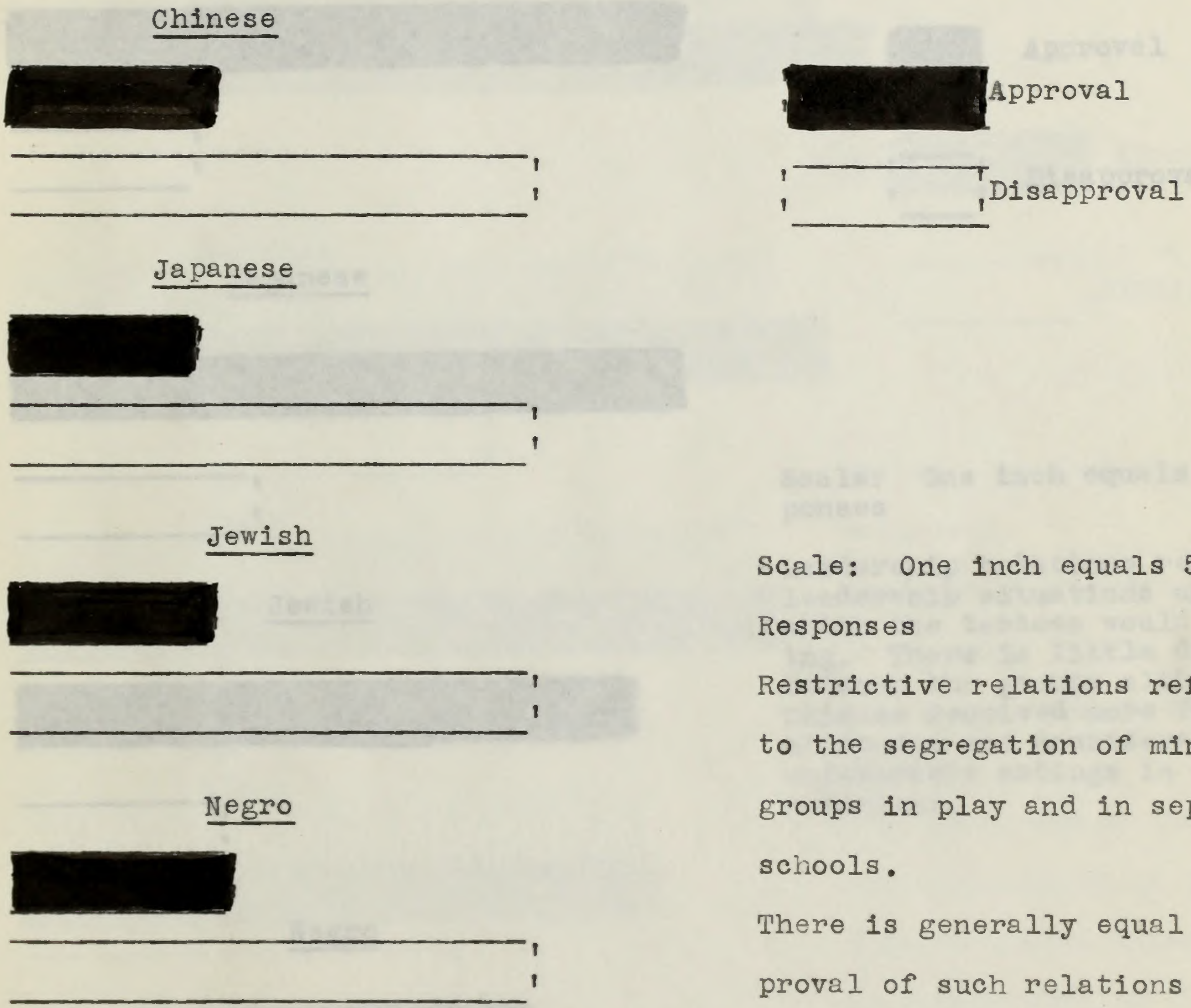
Total Number tested--113

Statement Number	Approved Chinese	Disapproved Chinese	Approved Japanese	Disapproved Japanese	Approved Jews	Disapproved Jews	Approved Negroes	Disapproved Negroes	Considered All Equal	Failed to Answer
1	90	9	76	34	76	24	72	25	1	1
2	88	11	73	34	68	32	63	35	1	1
3	93	5	93	17	74	25	81	14	-	1
4	87	12	71	32	85	21	66	30	1	1
5	81	18	70	40	62	38	65	33	1	-
6	91	8	90	21	76	24	78	22	1	-
7	45	52	44	63	43	53	41	52	-	5
8	93	3	84	25	81	16	75	18	1	2
9	90	8	93	16	85	13	78	16	1	5
10	92	6	88	21	86	14	78	20	1	2
11	88	11	79	25	78	21	67	26	1	2
12	41	58	41	67	41	58	39	53	-	4
13	46	52	40	68	45	54	39	44	-	7
14	86	11	80	27	74	20	75	32	1	1
15	84	12	71	30	72	27	62	30	1	-
16	73	21	67	38	61	38	60	30	1	5
17	94	4	93	16	89	13	80	13	1	1
18	85	13	72	38	71	29	51	43	1	1
19	91	7	89	18	85	15	76	17	1	1
20	16	81	18	89	20	77	18	75	-	2
21	16	81	16	86	17	81	15	76	-	1
22	64	34	67	51	57	44	51	41	1	2

CHART I

RESTRICTIVE RELATIONS

TOTAL BOYS AND GIRLS--113



Scale: One inch equals 50 Responses

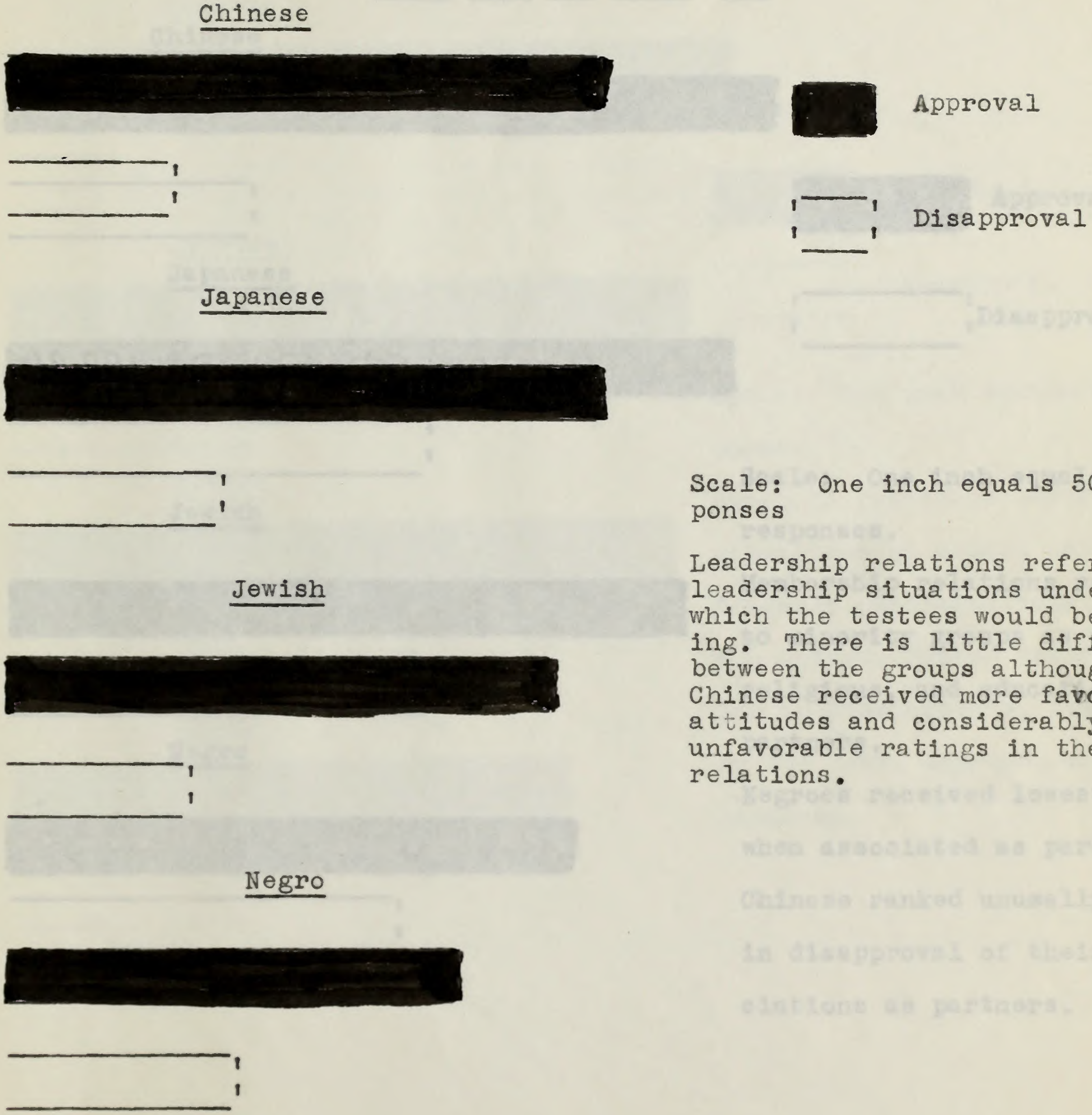
Restrictive relations refer to the segregation of minority groups in play and in separate schools.

There is generally equal disapproval of such relations toward all minority groups.

CHART II

LEADERSHIP RELATIONS

Total Boys and Girls--113



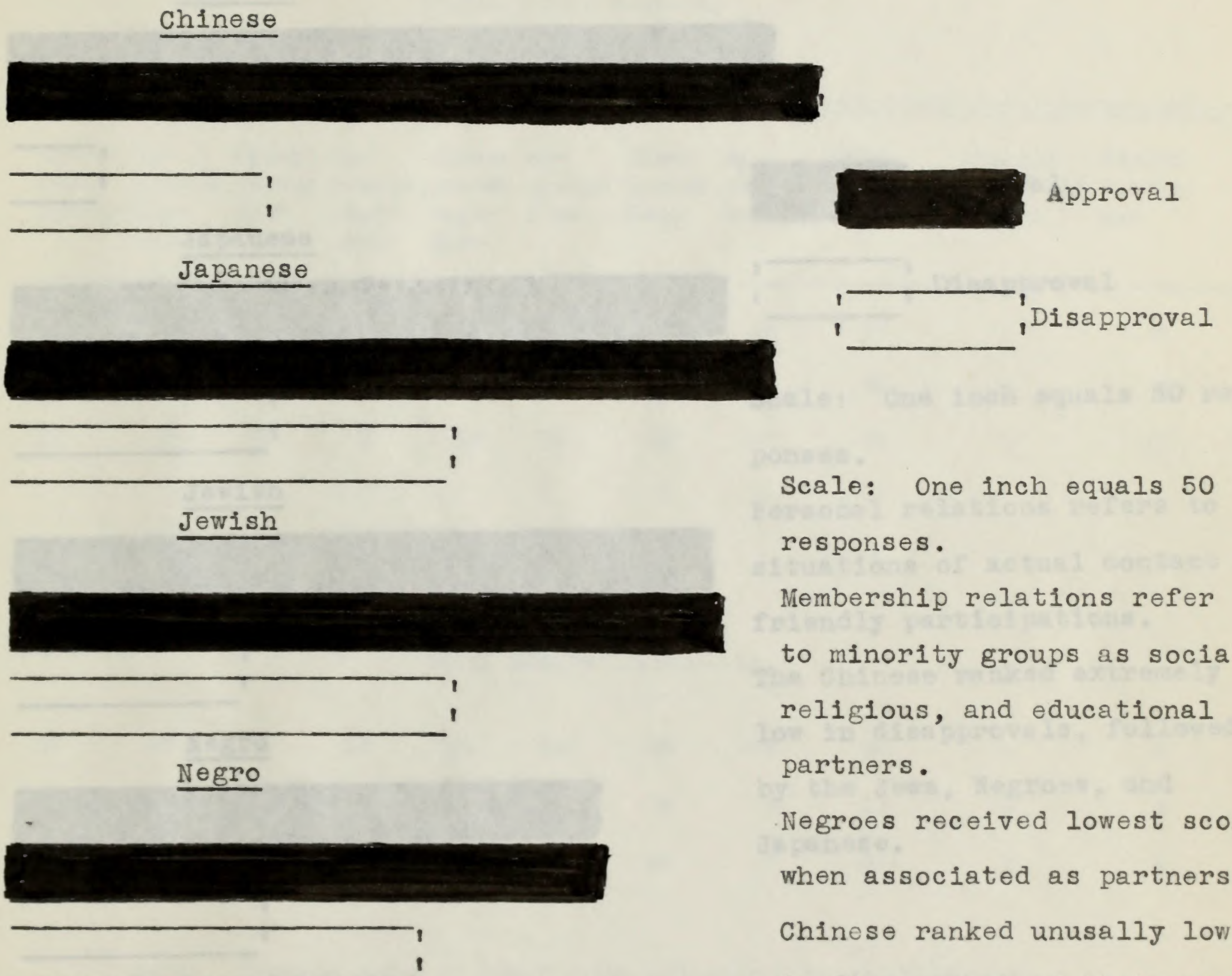
Scale: One inch equals 50 responses

Leadership relations refer to leadership situations under which the testees would be serving. There is little difference between the groups although the Chinese received more favorable attitudes and considerably less unfavorable ratings in these relations.

CHART III

MEMBERSHIP RELATIONS

Total Boys and Girls--113



Scale: One inch equals 50 responses.

Membership relations refer to minority groups as social, religious, and educational partners.

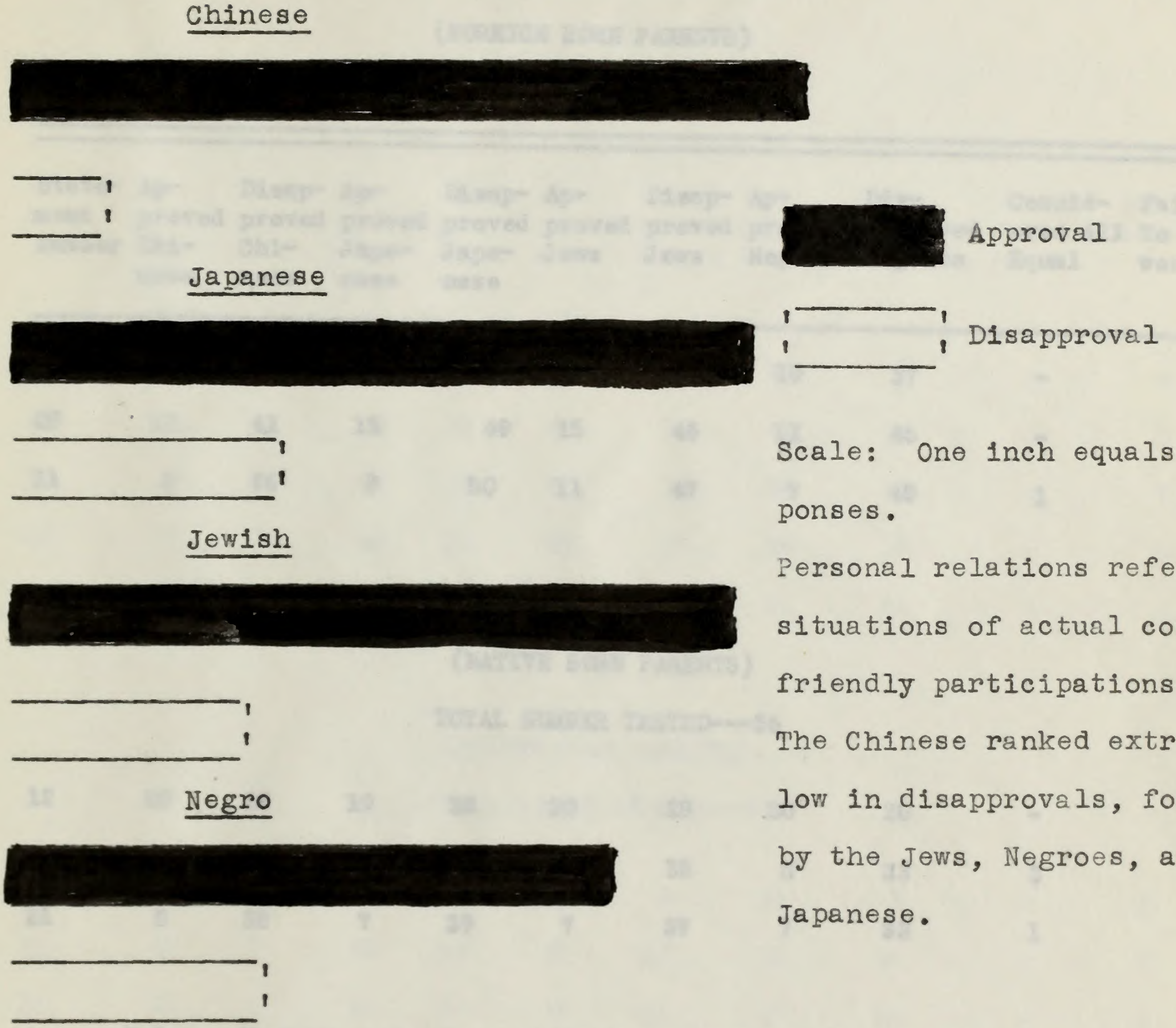
Negroes received lowest scores when associated as partners.

Chinese ranked unusally low in disapproval of their associations as partners.

CHART IV

PERSONAL RELATIONS

Total Boys and Girls--113



Scale: One inch equals 50 responses.

Personal relations refers to situations of actual contact in friendly participations.

The Chinese ranked extremely low in disapprovals, followed by the Jews, Negroes, and Japanese.

TABLE II

RESTRICTIVE RELATIONS

TOTAL NUMBER TESTED---66

(FOREIGN BORN PARENTS)

Statement Number	Approved Chinese	Disapproved Chinese	Approved Japanese	Disapproved Japanese	Approved Jews	Disapproved Jews	Approved Negroes	Disapproved Negroes	Considered All Equal	Failed To Answer
12	20	31	22	40	22	39	19	37	-	-
20	11	41	13	49	15	46	11	45	-	3
21	6	46	9	50	11	47	7	48	1	11
(NATIVE BORN PARENTS) TOTAL NUMBER TESTED---56										
12	20	28	19	28	20	28	20	20	-	5
20	6	38	6	40	8	38	8	33	3	3
21	8	38	7	39	7	37	7	33	1	2

Note: Numbers refer to restrictive situations in questionnaire.

TABLE III

LEADERSHIP

TOTAL NUMBER TESTED---66

(FOREIGN BORN PARENTS)

Statement Number	Approved Chinese	Disapproved Chinese	Approved Japanese	Disapproved Japanese	Approved Jews	Disapproved Jews	Approved Negroes	Disapproved Negroes	Considered All Equal	Failed To Answer
8	48	3	56	5	50	6	50	3	-	4
11	43	6	48	13	44	11	42	14	-	5
14	45	6	46	17	44	11	38	17	-	5
15	43	6	46	19	37	17	38	16	-	5
16	34	12	33	24	35	19	31	21	-	4

(NATIVE BORN PARENTS)

TOTAL NUMBER TESTED---56

Statement Number	Approved Chinese	Disapproved Chinese	Approved Japanese	Disapproved Japanese	Approved Jews	Disapproved Jews	Approved Negroes	Disapproved Negroes	Considered All Equal	Failed To Answer
8	52	2	49	5	48	3	44	3	-	2
11	45	7	38	13	37	11	30	16	-	2
14	48	6	41	14	41	11	38	12	-	2
15	46	7	39	14	35	15	33	14	-	2
16	42	12	34	20	28	21	32	17	-	3

Note: Numbers refer to leadership situations in questionnaire.

TABLE IV

MEMBERSHIP RELATIONS

TOTAL NUMBER TESTED---66

(Foreign Born Parents)

Statement Number	Approved Chinese	Disapproved Chinese	Approved Japanese	Disaproved Japanese	Approved Jews	Disapproved Jews	Approved Negroes	Disapproved Negroes	Failed to Answer
2	47	4	39	23	39	16	33	20	5
3	46	4	49	11	45	12	44	8	6
5	40	11	39	23	35	20	32	21	5
7	29	23	34	29	28	28	27	27	5
9	41	6	37	19	37	14	35	17	8
13	26	24	17	42	18	36	15	38	5
18	42	8	36	24	39	17	31	21	6

(Native Born Parents)

TOTAL NUMBER TESTED--56

2	48	6	39	14	35	14	28	20	3
3	51	2	46	7	36	11	39	7	3
5	44	9	34	19	32	17	29	19	3
7	20	31	20	30	19	28	23	23	5
9	45	5	38	12	35	11	31	14	5
13	17	36	17	33	19	29	19	28	4
18	46	6	35	16	33	16	29	19	3

Note: Numbers of statements refer to membership situations.

TABLE V

PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS

TOTAL NUMBER TESTED---66

(FOREIGN BORN PARENTS)

Statement Number	Approved Chinese	Disapproved Chinese	Approved Japanese	Disapproved Japanese	Approved Jews	Disapproved Jews	Approved Negroes	Disapproved Negroes	Failed to Answer
1	50	3	45	21	50	15	42	16	2
4	45	7	44	20	48	15	41	18	1
6	47	5	47	17	43	19	47	18	3
10	45	3	45	15	50	10	36	18	6
17	50	2	47	16	55	6	46	10	5
19	46	6	45	21	52	11	42	13	7

(NATIVE BORN PARENTS)

TOTAL NUMBER TESTED--56

1	45	8	38	16	38	12	31	16	3
4	43	10	34	17	37	13	31	16	3
6	45	6	42	10	39	11	35	11	3
10	47	4	43	10	43	6	40	6	3
17	47	4	46	4	41	9	39	6	4
19	44	6	44	8	44	6	34	12	3

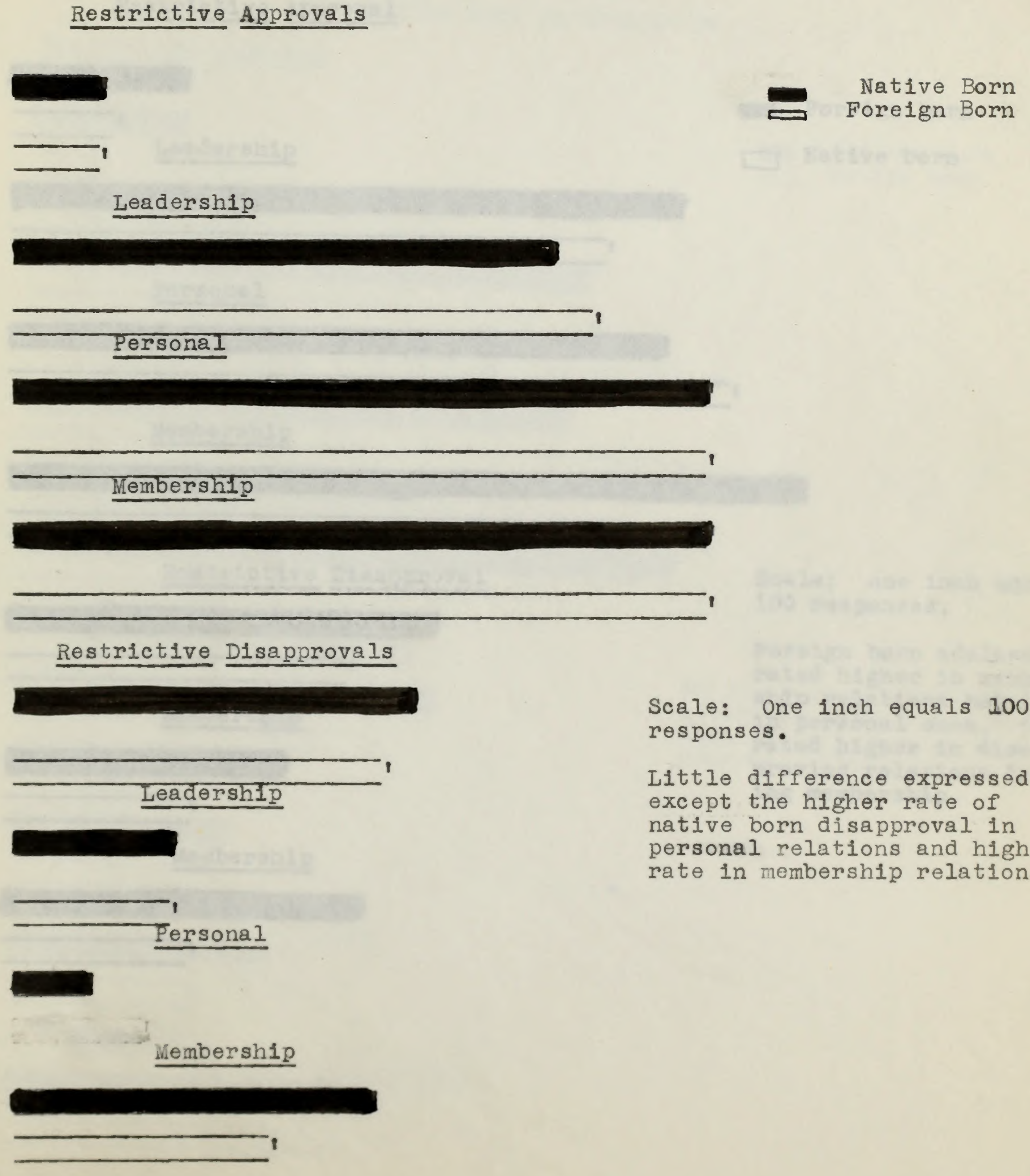
Note: Statement numbers refer to personal relationship situations in questionnaire.

CHART V

RELATIONS TOWARD CHINESE

NATIVE BORN BOYS AND GIRLS--56

FOREIGN BORN BOYS AND GIRLS--66



Scale: One inch equals 100 responses.

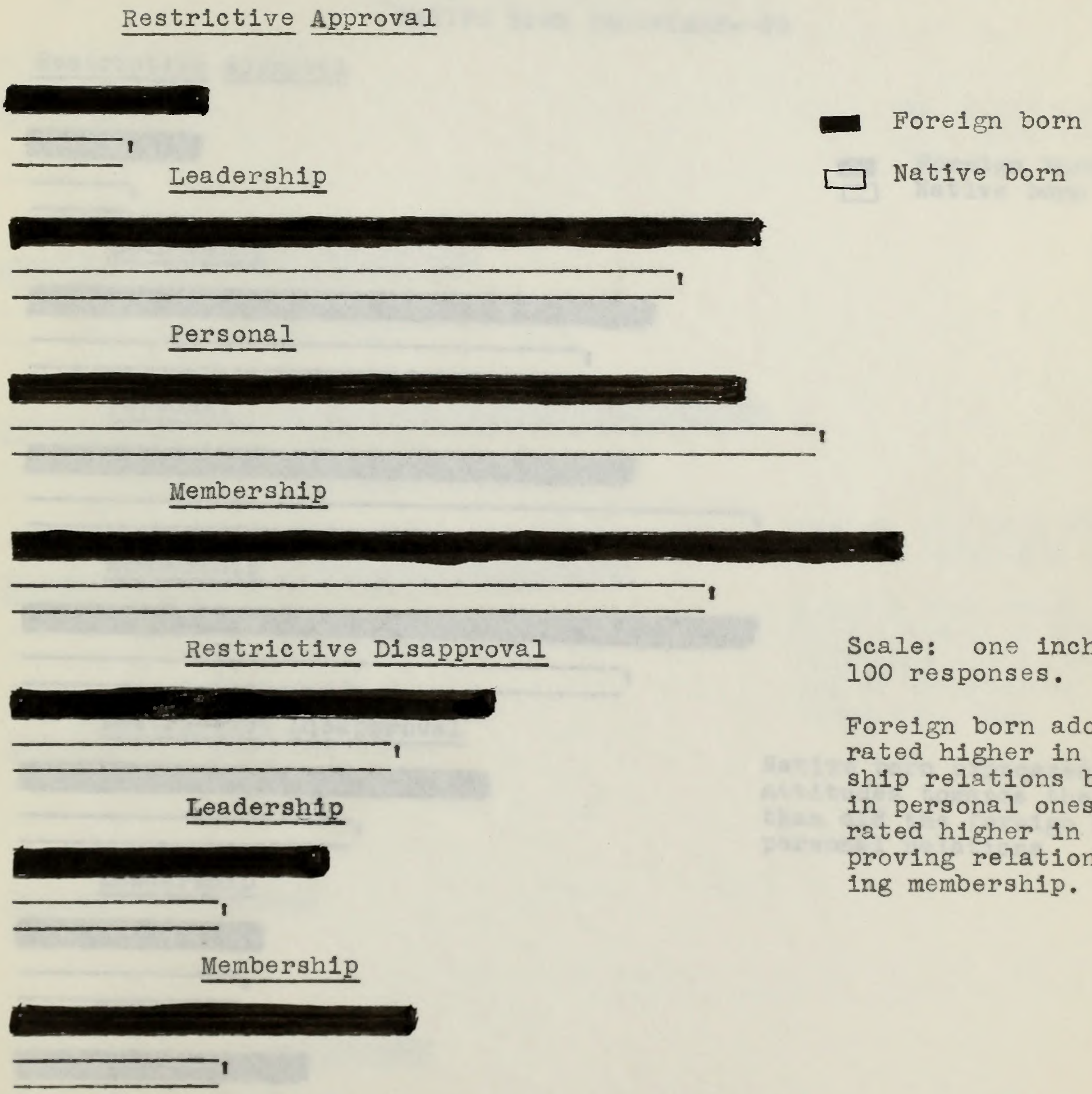
Little difference expressed except the higher rate of native born disapproval in personal relations and high rate in membership relations.

CHART VI

RELATIONS TOWARD JAPANESE

FOREIGN BORN PARENTAGE--66

NATIVE BORN PARENTAGE--56



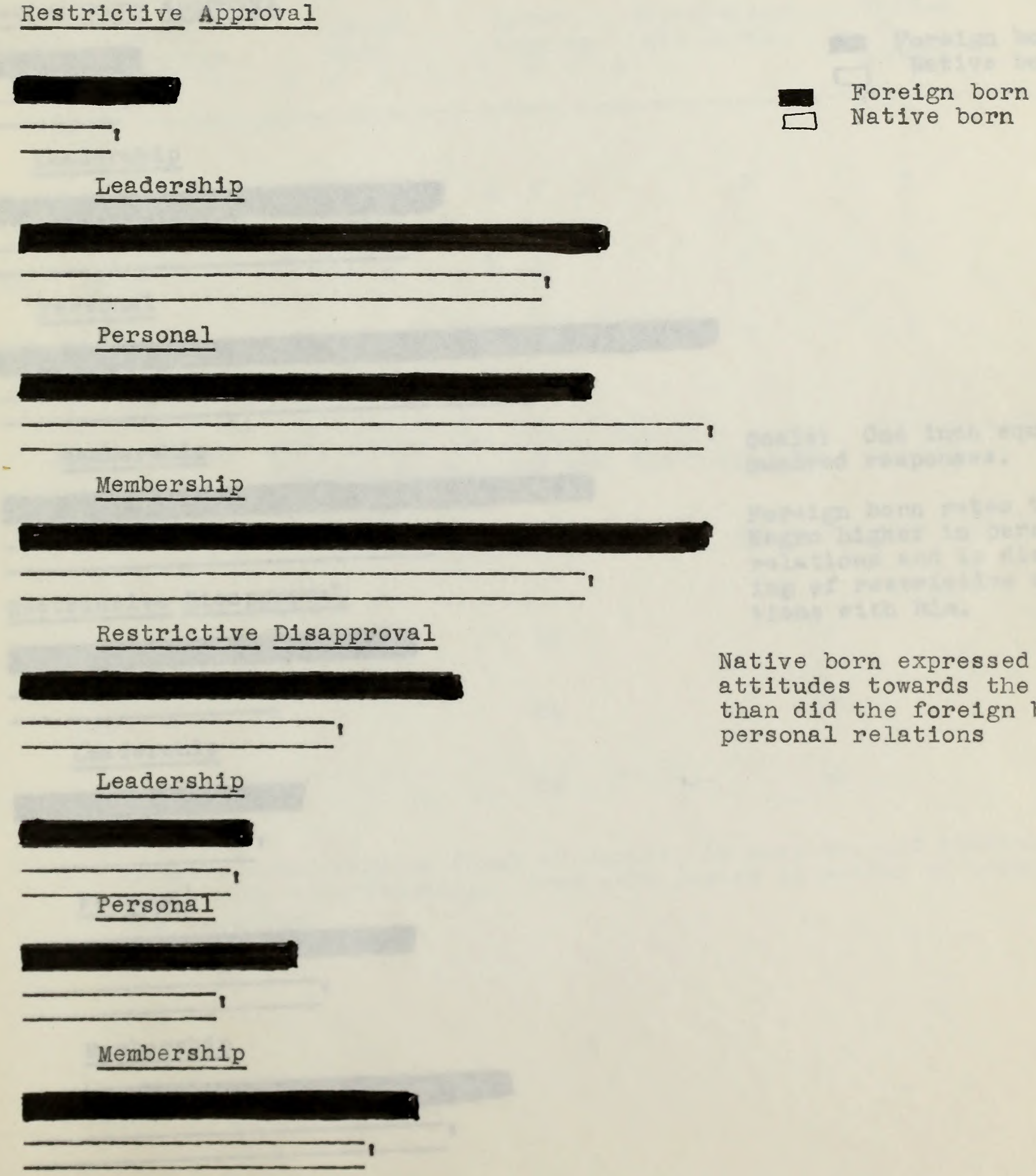
Scale: one inch equals 100 responses.

Foreign born adolescents rated higher in membership relations but lower in personal ones. They rated higher in disapproving relations involving membership.

CHART VII

RELATIONS TOWARD JEWS

FOREIGN BORN PARENTAGE--66
NATIVE BORN PARENTAGE--56



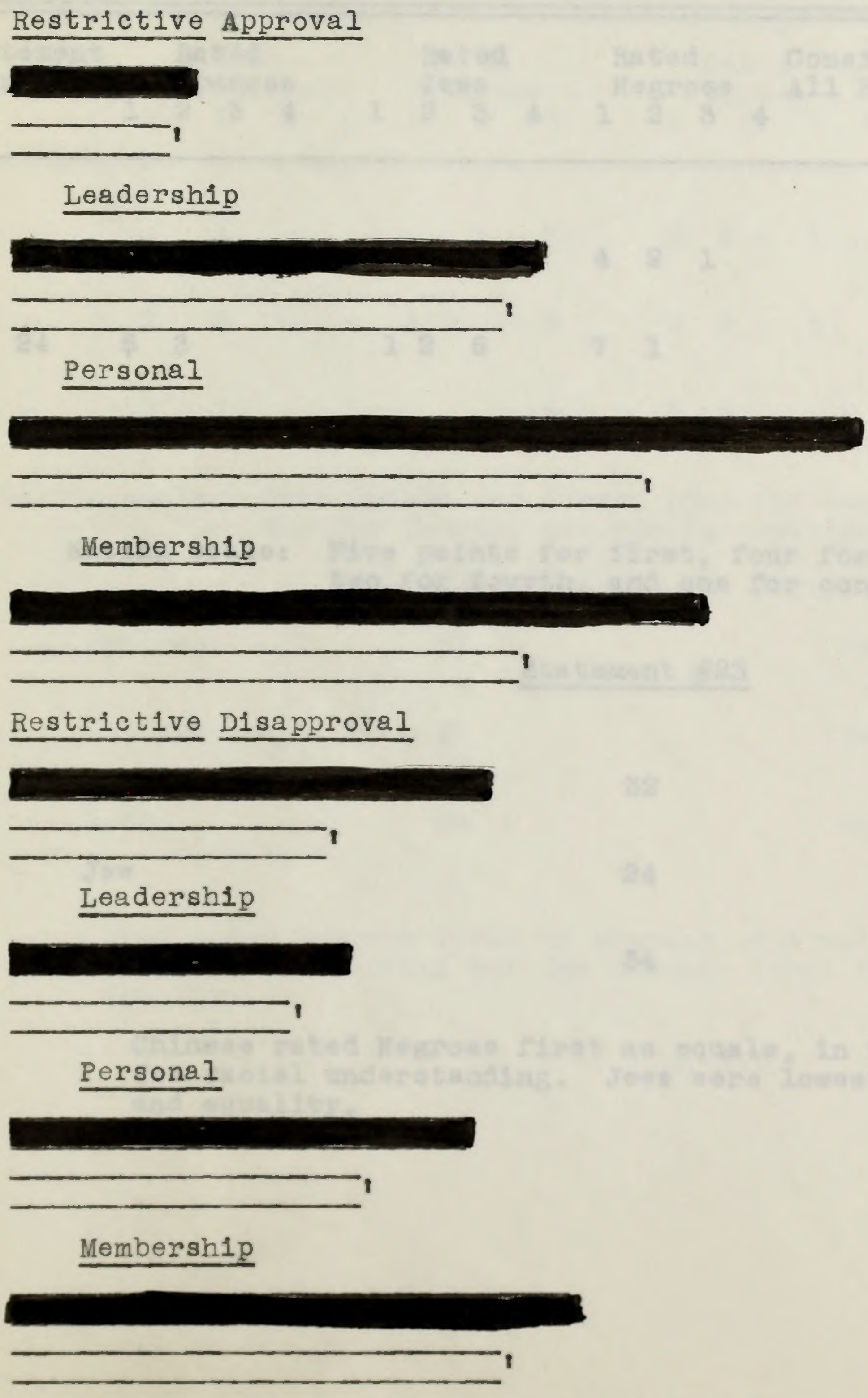
Native born expressed better attitudes towards the Jews than did the foreign born in personal relations

CHART VIII

RELATIONS TOWARD NEGROES

FOREIGN BORN PARENTAGE--66

NATIVE BORN PARENTAGE--56



■ Foreign born
☐ Native born

Scale: One inch equals one hundred responses.

Foreign born rates the Negro higher in personal relations and in disapproving of restrictive relations with him.

TABLE VI

CHINESE RATING CHART

TOTAL NUMBER TESTED--12

Statement Number	Rated Japanese				Rated Jews				Rated Negroes				Considered All Equal	Failed to Answer
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4		
23	3	2	2			3	4		4	2	1		3	2
24	5	3			1	2	5		7	1			1	3
25	1	3	2			3	3		5		1		3	3

Rating scale: Five points for first, four for second, three for third, two for fourth, and one for considering all equal.

	Statement #23	Statement #24	Statement #25
Japanese	32	38	26
Jew	24	29	24
Negro	34	40	31

Chinese rated Negroes first as equals, in respect, and readiness for racial understanding. Jews were lowest in matter of respect and equality.

TABLE VII

JEWISH RATING CHART

TOTAL NUMBER TESTED--13

Statement Number	Rated Chinese				Rated Japanese				Rated Negroes				Considered All Equal	Failed to Answer
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4		
23	3	5				1	7		5	2	1		2	1
24	2	7			1		8		6	2	1		1	1
25	3	6					9		3	3			2	1

Rating scale: Five points for first, four for second, three for third, two for fourth, and one for considering all equal

	Statement #23	Statement #24	Statement #25
Chinese	37	39	41
Japanese	27	30	29
Negro	38	42	29

Jews rated Negroes first in respect, and readiness for racial understanding and the Chinese first in terms of equality.

TABLE VIII

NEGRO RATING CHART

TOTAL NUMBER TESTED--16

Statement Number	Rated CHinese 1	2	3	4	Rated Japanese 1	2	3	4	Rated Jews 1	2	3	4	Considered All Equal	Failed to Answer
23	6	5	2		1	1	10	1	4	6	1	2	1	2
24	6	8	1		1	4	8	2	7	2	6	1		1
25	5	5				1	9		4	4	2		3	3

Rating scale: Five points for first, four for second, three for third, two for fourth, and one for considering all equal.

	Statement #23	Statement #24	Statement #25
Chinese	57	65	48
Japanese	42	49	34
Jew	52	63	45

Negroes rated Chinese highest in all relations in basis of own group.

TABLE IX

AGENCIES WITH NON-MINORITY MEMBERSHIP

TOTAL NUMBER TESTED--22

Statement Number	Rated Chinese 1	2	3	4	Rated Japanese 1	2	3	4	Rated Jews 1	2	3	4	Rated Negroes 1	2	3	4	Considered All Equal
23	6	2	5		3		3	9	4	4	4	3	4	5	3	3	2
24	6	4			1	2	4	6	4	6	4	2	2	4	5	5	2
25	9	1	1		2	2	3	4	4	3	4	3	3	4	1	8	4

Rating scale: Five Points for first, four for second, three for third, two for fourth, and one for considering all equal.

	Statement #23	Statement #24	Statement #25
Chinese	55	48	56
Japanese	44	39	39
Jew	56	62	54
Negro	57	53	54

Negroes were rated first in matter of respect; the Jew first in readiness for understanding; and the Chinese first in equality.

TABLE X

MIXED AGENCIES RATING CHART

TOTAL NUMBER TESTED---56

Statement Number	Rated Chinese				Rated Japanese				Rated Jews				Rated Negroes				Considered All Equal
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	
23	34	14	3		2	7	17	24	13	23	10	7	4	10	15	19	1
24	31	14	5		2	10	16	22	13	19	13	5	5	12	12	19	
25	22	12	4	1	1	4	13	22	18	14	8	5	3	10	14	13	4

Rating scale: Five points for first, four for second, three for third, two for fourth, and one for considering all equal.

	Statement #23	Statement #24	Statement #25
Chinese	236	226	176
Japanese	138	142	108
Jew	202	190	184
Negro	144	147	127

Chinese were rated highest as being ready for racial understanding and in terms of respect. The Jew was ranked highest as an equal.

TABLE XI

SPECIFIC JOB GROUPINGS

TOTAL NUMBER TESTED--12

STATEMENT NUMBER--26

CHINESE

Job	Japanese	Jewish	Negro	Considered All Equal	Failed to Answer
Doctor	2	4	2	1	4
Peddler	1	7	2	1	2
Politician	-	7	1	1	4
Porter	-	2	9	1	2
Teacher	2	3	4	1	4
Red Cap	1	1	9	1	2
Banker	-	7	1	2	4
Laundryman	3	1	-	1	8
Proprietor of Store	3	6	1	2	2
Restaurateur	1	4	-	1	8
Rag Man	2	4	5	1	2
Junk Dealer	1	6	4	1	2
Business	1	8	2	2	2

TABLE XII

SPECIFIC JOB GROUPINGS

TOTAL NUMBER TESTED--13

STATEMENT NUMBER--26

JEWISH

Job	Chinese	Japanese	Negro	Considered All Equal	Failed to Answer
Doctor	1	-	1	4	1
Peddler	3	1	-	4	3
Politician	-	-	-	4	3
Porter	2	2	7	4	1
Teacher	2	1	1	4	1
Red Cap	-	-	6	4	2
Banker	2	1	1	4	2
Laundryman	5	2 v	-	4	1
Proprietor of Store	3	-	3	4	1
Restaurateur	8	1	1	4	1
Ragman	1	3	3	4	2
Junk Dealer	-	2	1	4	2
Business	-	-	1	4	1

Note: Jewish boys and girls persistently rated themselves high as doctors, politicians, teachers, bankers, junk dealers, and businessmen. There was a high score in equality of jobs.

TABLE XIII

SPECIFIC JOB GROUPINGS

TOTAL NUMBER TESTED--16

STATEMENT NUMBER--26

NEGROES

Job	Chinese	Japanese	Jewish	Considered All Equal	Failed To Answer
Doctor	5	1	7	3	1
Peddler	2	3	8	3	-
Politician	2	1	6	3	2
Porter	4	4	3	3	3
Teacher	8	1	5	3	3
Red Cap	4	2	3	3	2
Banker	2	1	7	3	1
Laundryman	13	3	1	3	-
Proprietor of Store	1	3	9	3	-
Ragman	1	2	8	3	2
Restaurateur	9	3	6	3	-
Junk Dealer	1	3	8	3	2
Business	6	1	6	3	1

Note: Negro tends to fail to answer Red Cap or Porter.

TABLE XIV

SPECIFIC JOB GROUPINGS

TOTAL NUMBER TESTED-56

STATEMENT NUMBER--26

MIXED AGENCIES

Job	Chinese	Japanese	Jewish	Negro	Considered All Equal	Failed to Answer
Doctor	13	2	38	1	4	3
Peddler	8	10	21	13	5	4
Politician	17	2	29	17	6	3
Porter	4	6	3	37	6	6
Teacher	21	3	25	14	6	2
Red Cap	5	7	9	33	5	8
Banker	9	5	40	4	5	4
Laundryman	40	8	2	7	4	4
Proprietor of Store	8	8	33	7	7	3
Restaurateur	33	12	17	8	1	1
Ragman	4	12	26	13	5	4
Junk Dealer	2	7	30	12	5	6
Business	12	10	42	6	4	3

TABLE XV

SPECIFIC JOB GROUPINGS

TOTAL NUMBER TESTED-22

STATEMENT NUMBER-26

NON-MINORITY AGENCIES

Job	Chinese	Japanese	Jewish	Negroes	Considered All Equal	Failed to Answer
Doctor	8	2	10	1	2	2
Peddler	1	5	8	1	1	4
Politician	3	1	11	-	1	4
Porter	1	2	2	9	2	5
Teacher	6	7	12	2	1	2
Red Cap	2	3	2	10	1	3
Banker	7	3	14	2	1	3
Laundryman	16	3	3	2	1	3
Proprietor of Store	6	2	13	1	1	2
Restaurateur	14	3	6	1	1	2
Ragman	1	4	7	3	2	2
Junk Dealer	1	3	8	3	1	5
Business	4	3	15	2	1	3

CHART IX

RATING CHART OF ALL MINORITIES

Statement #	23	24	25	23	24	25	23	24	25	23	24	25
	Chinese			Japanese			Jews			Negroes		
Chinese				32	38	26	24	29	24	34	40	31
Jews	37	39	41	27	30	29				38	42	29
Negroes	57	65	48	42	49	32	52	63	45			
Non-Minority Agencies	55	48	56	44	39	39	56	62	64	57	53	54
Mixed Agencies	236	226	176	138	142	108	202	190	184	144	147	127

Statement # 23 refers to degree of respect for each group.

Statement # 24 refers to the readiness of racial understanding with own group.

Statement # 25 refers to equality of each group with own group.

Scale: Five points for rating of one, four for two, three for three, two for four, and one for " all equal rating."

Chinese rated Negroes higher than Jews and Japanese in each instance.

Jews rated Negroes lower only as equals.

Negroes ranked minorities Chinese, Jews, and Japanese in all three cases.

Non-minorities listed Negroes first in respect, Chinese first as equals, and Jews first in terms of readiness for racial understanding.

Mixed agencies rated Chinese first in first two places but Jews were placed first in being equal to their group.

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CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Purpose of the study

The purpose of this study was to measure racial attitudes toward minority groups in ten social agencies in Boston.

Summary

The questionnaire contained twenty-two statements requiring either approval (a) or disapproval (d) answers; three statements requiring a rating in terms of own group; and one check question relative to job qualification. The tests were given to 113 boys and girls in the ten agencies ranging from sixteen to twenty-one years of age. The tabulations were made and the results checked. Tables and charts were made and recommendations of the study were included.

Conclusions

There were several considerations made in order that a better understanding of the data would result. The general conclusions of the study are presented first followed by the results and conclusions of the boys and girls' attitudes item by item, of the attitudes of boys and girls of native and foreign born parents in respect to their relationships, of mixed, non-minority, and minority agencies and their attitudes.

If a member checked a job bracket for all groups, each was given credit and he was considered to have declared all

minorities equal for that particular job. If he, however, did not check any but the declaration that all groups were equal was included, credit was given to him but not to the individual groups. Japanese figures are higher in some totals because none was tested and thus would not be able to rate themselves. Negro totals are slightly smaller because they were more numerous. The Jews persisted in rating themselves although admonished beforehand.

The total number of boys and girls tested was one hundred and thirteen.

Restrictive relations included the statements referring to the segregation of minority groups in separated schools and at play, and reservation of more severe punishment for delinquent minority members. In relations with the members of the minority groups, the following results were observed: The desired response is negative or the disapproval (d) answer.

There was little difference in general attitude toward minority groups on the part of all boys and girls tested. The statement that made only minor change was in relation to severe punishment for minority groups but this was lost in the overall picture of this type of relationship. Three times as many opinions of negation as assent were quite consistent throughout.

Leadership relations were statements that sought approval

of leadership situations under which the testees would be serving. There was little difference in the amount of approval, although the Chinese ranked highest. It was interesting to note that the Japanese for all their fewness received a slightly higher rate of approval than did the Jews. The Negro was listed lowest but still not hopelessly behind the highest rankings. The Chinese were considerably lower in disapprovals than any of the others.

Membership relations involved any situations where acceptance or rejection of these minorities as social, religious, and educational partners is concerned. The same ranking of Chinese, Japanese, Jewish, and Negro resulted but the latter fell sadly in the rear of the preceding groups although the disapproval score was actually less than that of either the Japanese or Jews. This is accounted for by the fact that so many failed to answer there and that more Negroes being tested were unable to rate themselves.

Personal relationships meant situations of actual contact in friendship and activity participations. The same scale resulted in racial preferences. The Chinese ranked extremely low in disapprovals with the Jew, Negro, and Japanese following in that order.

In the same study of relations, the attitudes of boys and girls of foreign born parents were compared with those of native born parentage. There were ten more of foreign

born parents than native born with Chinese, Jewish, and the predominantly Italian agencies making the unusually high foreign born figures. In comparison of their attitudes toward Chinese in their relations the only difference was in rejecting membership where the native born progeny exhibited slightly higher ratings. The same was true for the Japanese, and Negro. However, all other relations except personal for Japanese and Jew, found the attitudes of foreign born showing slightly better totals than for native born.

In relation to all minorities, about the same attitudes were expressed by boys and girls toward the Chinese, Japanese, Jews, and Negroes. The differences are only significant in personal relationships toward the Chinese where the opposite is true. Slightly higher totals were found in disapproval of Japanese restrictive relations. Large differences are noted in preferences of Jewish membership relations and rejection of the same for Chinese and Japanese.

In specific job groupings the best attitude toward all minorities was indicated by the Jewish boys and girls. Almost one third of those tested believed that the job was not the exclusive right of any one group. It is here stated that their agency was the only one that declared the presence of a tolerance program in their administration. It was observed that over half of the Jewish boys and girls rated themselves

despite cautions to the contrary. They rated the Chinese high as doctors, teachers, businessmen, and restaurateurs; the Japanese, highest as porters and ragmen; and the Negroes as porters and red caps.

Negroes tended to rate the Chinese high as doctors, teachers, businessmen, and laundrymen; the Japanese, high as porters; and the Jew as top in all the other categories. The job of red cap, usually stereotyped as his own, was well-distributed throughout the other minorities although his failure to answer this was high. About one fifth considered that race was no criterion to select a job.

The Chinese rated the Jew high in all job classifications except porter, teacher, red cap, and laundryman; the Negro, low in everything except porter and red cap; and the Japanese, low in everything. The Chinese were high in their failure to answer laundryman and restaurateur.

The non-minority agencies classed the Jews high as doctors, politicians, teachers, proprietors, and businessmen ; the Chinese, low in everything except laundryman, the doctor; the Japanese, moderately low in everything, and the Negro high as porter and red cap. The Japanese received higher tallies as doctors than did the Chinese and although the Negro was high in scores as porter and red cap, the overwhelming expected tally did not materialize.

The mixed agencies followed the same pattern of the non-minority agencies. The only significant changes were the relative gain of Negroes as politicians, peddlers, and teachers and the Chinese as teachers. There was substantial advance of equality of job placement over the non-minority group.

Selected comments of boys and girls tested

A girl, both of whose parents are foreign-born, and who is a member of a mixed agency states "As far as I can see these minorities will never come up to our standards and if they do they'd try to outdo the Americans. They do not belong under our class of living."

A college male of foreign parents in a non-minority agency avers "In regard to all the other questions, I would have an attitude of indifference, and allow each person to establish himself personally in my confidence or esteem. Offhand, from experience, I prefer Negroes and Jews over the Chinese and Japanese."

A female with one foreign-born parent says "I respect them all. One respects an individual for various reasons such as character, intelligence, etc., not for his race or creed or color."

Another female of native-born parents believes that any individual can qualify for any position if he has had

the specialized training and opportunity.

A law school freshman feels that statement twenty-six is definitely an unfair question, apparently designed to cause the unwary person being questioned to fill in the occupation usually associated with the race, such as Red Cap - Negro.

"I would do nothing to harm any of these races in any way; yet I want nothing to do with any of them," volunteered a girl from amixed agency.

"In my opinion, this whole survey is ridiculous. Jobs are given to people, or should be given, according to the abilities of the individual and not because of their race, color, or political beliefs," was the statement of a high school girl and member of a non-minority agency.

A male of a minority agency believes "An individual earns my respect or disrespect not because of his color or religious belief, but because of his own particular qualities."

Recommendations

The following recommendations are suggested for further study:

1. Using the same test on same children after a period of one or two years.
2. Using the same test on different age groups.
3. Making a study of different procedures the agencies can use in building better racial attitudes.

4. Using the same test or a revised version for school children.
5. Building a test to measure attitudes of minorities toward the so-called majorities.
6. Constructing tests to determine the causes of adolescents' prejudices.
7. Developing tests to measure ability to recognize racial prejudices.
8. Using the same or revised test on adults or parents.
9. Administering the same test to youthful church groups.
10. Giving the same or revised test to religious social agencies.

APPENDIX

ATTITUDES TOWARD MINORITIES

Attitudes may be best described as your feelings toward someone and usually the result of some experience with that person or some other person's experience who either writes or tells something that causes you to have some feeling toward the person although you may not know that person.

The following questions attempt to measure your present attitude toward the four minority groups which consist of the Chinese, Japanese, Jews, and Negroes. Answer questions exactly as you believe them to be although they may not be the beliefs of others. Do not place your name on the paper as we do not want to know who you are but just what you think.

Answer the following as accurately as you can:

Sex__________Birthplace__________date of birth____________

Father's Age___Nationality__________Where born__________
Occupation__________Last school attended__________

Mother's Age___Nationality__________Where born__________
Occupation__________________Last school attended________

Estimate the number of the following groups in each:

	School	Church	Social Agency	Neighborhood
Chinese				
Japanese				
Jewish				
Negroes				

Answer every question honestly. Any comments you may have to offer where the situation does not apply to your particular case or opinion will be accepted.

Directions: If you approve of the statement in reference to any of the groups listed place the letter A in the parenthesis which precedes the name of the group. If you disapprove of the statement place the letter D in the parenthesis which precedes the name of the group.

1. I would approve (A) or disapprove (D) of my brother or sister having a friend who was
( ) Chinese
( ) Japanese
( ) Jewish
( ) Negro

2. I would approve (A) or disapprove (D) if any members of the following groups attempted to move into my neighborhood.
( ) Chinese
( ) Japanese
( ) Jewish
( ) Negro

3. I would approve (A) or disapprove (d) if any members of the following groups attended my church.
( ) Chinese
( ) Japanese
( ) Jewish
( ) Negro

4. I would approve (A) or disapprove (D) if any members of the following groups attended social functions at which I was present.
( ) Chinese
( ) Japanese
( ) Jewish
( ) Negro

5. I would approve (A) or disapprove (D) of any member of the following groups belonging to my club or gang.
( ) Chinese
( ) Japanese
( ) Jewish
( ) Negro

6. I would approve (A) or disapprove (D) of members of the following groups being allowed to choose me as a friend.
( ) Chinese
( ) Japanese
( ) Jewish
( ) Negro

7. I would approve (A) or disapprove (D) of members of the following groups remaining apart from my group and neighborhood.
( ) Chinese
( ) Japanese
( ) Jewish
( ) Negro

8. I would approve (A) or disapprove (D) of members of the following groups completing high school if they qualify.
( ) Chinese
( ) Japanese
( ) Jewish
( ) Negro

9. I would approve (A) or disapprove (D) of the offering of membership to any interested person in the following groups.
( ) Chinese
( ) Japanese
( ) Jewish
( ) Negro

10. I would approve (A) or disapprove (D) of playing in activities with members of the following groups.
( ) Chinese
( ) Japanese
( ) Jewish
( ) Negro

11. I would approve (A) or disapprove (D) if any workers of this social agency were members of the following groups.
( ) Chinese
( ) Japanese
( ) Jewish
( ) Negro

12. I approve (A) or disapprove of separate schools for any of the following groups.
( ) Chinese
( ) Japanese
( ) Jewish
( ) Negro

13. I approve (A) or disapprove (D) of allowing only a select few of the members of the following groups to attend my school.
( ) Chinese
( ) Japanese
( ) Jewish
( ) Negro

14. I would approve (A) or disapprove (D) of any member of the following groups becoming an officer in my class at school.
( ) Chinese
( ) Japanese
( ) Jewish
( ) Negro

15. I would approve (A) or disapprove (D) of my working under a team captain of the following group.
( ) Chinese
( ) Japanese
( ) Jewish
( ) Negro

16. I would approve (A) or disapprove (D) of an employer or boss who was a member of the following groups.
( ) Chinese
( ) Japanese
( ) Jewish
( ) Negro

17. Before joining the social agency I approved (A) or disapproved (D) of participation in sports with members of the following.
( ) Chinese
( ) Japanese
( ) Negro

18. I would approve (A) or disapprove (D) of playing against members of the following groups in social agency activities.
( ) Chinese
( ) Japanese
( ) Jewish
( ) Negro

19. I would approve (A) or disapprove (D) of members of the following groups becoming a part of my community.
( ) Chinese
( ) Japanese
( ) Jewish
( ) Negro

20. I would approve (A) or disapprove (D) of members of the following groups being compelled to play by themselves.
( ) Chinese
( ) Japanese
( ) Jewish
( ) Negro

21. I would approve (A) or disapprove (D) of more severe punishment for a member of the following groups who committed a serious crime than for a member of my group.
( ) Chinese
( ) Japanese
( ) Jewish
( ) Negro

22. I would approve (A) or disapprove (D) of any qualified member of the following groups holding high political office.
( ) Chinese
( ) Japanese
( ) Jewish
( ) Negro

23. In the aprentheses preceding the group listed below place the number I before the group which you respect most, the number 2 before the group you respect next, 3 next and number 4 before the group you respect the least.
( ) Chinese
( ) Japanese
( ) Jewish
( ) Negro

24. In the parentheses preceding the groups listed below place the number 1 before the group which you feel is best ready for better racial understanding with your group, number 2 for the group next best, number 3 next, and number 4 for the group least ready for better racial relationships with your group.
( ) Chinese
( ) Japanese
( ) Jewish
( ) Negro

25. On the basis of all of your experiences with members of minority groups in school, church, your community, etc., place a 1 beside the group that in your opinion is equal to your group, a 2 beside the next equal, 3 next, 4 the least equal.
( ) Chinese
( ) Japanese
( ) Jewish
( ) Negro

26. The following is a list of specific jobs. Place a check under the name of the group whose members you would feel best qualified to hold these jobs.

	Chinese	Japanese	Jewish	Negro
Doctor				
Peddler				
Politician				
Porter				
Teacher				
Red Cap				
Banker				
Laundryman				
Proprietor of Store				
Restaurateur				
Ragman				
Junk Dealer				
Business				

TABLE

AGENCY LOCATION

	Name	Street	Census Tract Numbers
1.	Dorchester Neighborhood House	353 Dorchester Ave.	T-3-A
2.	Norfold House	14 Eliot Square	U-3
3.	North End Union	20-32 Parmenter St.	F-4
4.	Robert Gould Shaw House	11 Windsor St.	R-I
5.	Roxbury Neighborhood House	858 Albany St.	Q-I
6.	South End Boys Club	7500 Washington St.	L-4
7.	YMCA (Chinese)	7 Tyler St.	G-2
8.	YMCA	315 Huntington Ave.	J-4
9.	YMHA	108 Seaver St.	U-5
10.	YWCA	140 Clarendon St.	J-3

TABLE

MEMBERSHIP AND AGE GROUP

Agency	Membership Boys	Membership Girls	Age--16-21 Boys	Age--16-21 Girls
1. Dorchester Neighborhood House	491	319	9	11
2. Norfolk House	460	552	40	32
3. North End Union	324	479	75	55
4. Robert Gould Shaw House	343	182	42	16
5. Roxbury Neighborhood House	460	530	92	44
6. South End Boys Club	909		36	
7. Y M C A (Chinese)	78		28	
8. Y M C A	2940		777	
9. Y M H A	815	410	191	65
10. Y W C A		3580		900

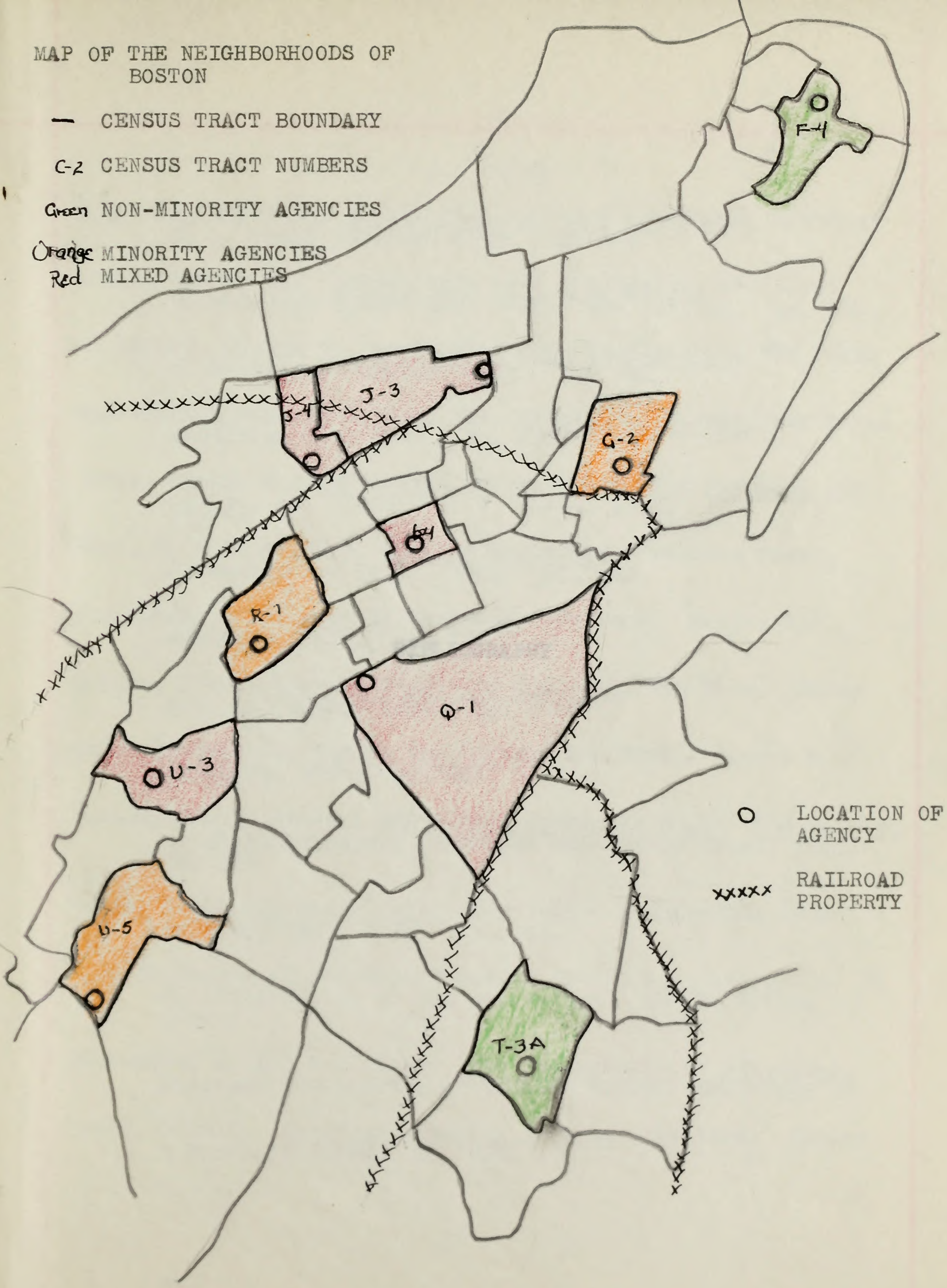
Note: Most of these figures are from the 1942 social agency census while others are general estimates.

TABLE

RACIAL PERCENTAGE OF AGENCIES

Agency	Nationality	Native Born White	Foreign Born White	Negro	Other
1. Dorchester Neighborhood House (Fields Corner)	Cosmopolitan	79.4	20.5	.1	
2. Norfolk House (Dudley)	Cosmopolitan	74.3	22.0	3.6	.1
(Mission Hill)		78.2	20.1	1.7	
3. North End Union (Area)	Predominantly Italian	65.1	34.7		.2
(Neighborhood)		64.4	35.5		.1
4. Robert Gould Shaw House	Predominantly Negro				
5. Roxbury Neighborhood House (East Dudley)	Cosmopolitan	74.3	21.0	4.6	.1
6. South End Boys Club	Cosmopolitan	57.9	28.1	11.8	2.1
7. Y M C A (Chinese)	Predominantly Chinese				
8. Y M C A	Cosmopolitan				
9. Y M H A	Predominantly Jewish				
10. Y W C A	Cosmopolitan				

MAP OF THE NEIGHBORHOODS OF BOSTON


— CENSUS TRACT BOUNDARY
C-2 CENSUS TRACT NUMBERS
Green NON-MINORITY AGENCIES
Orange MINORITY AGENCIES
Red MIXED AGENCIES
O LOCATION OF AGENCY
xxxxx RAILROAD PROPERTY
F-4
J-4
J-3
G-2
G-4
R-1
Q-1
U-3
U-5
T-3A

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